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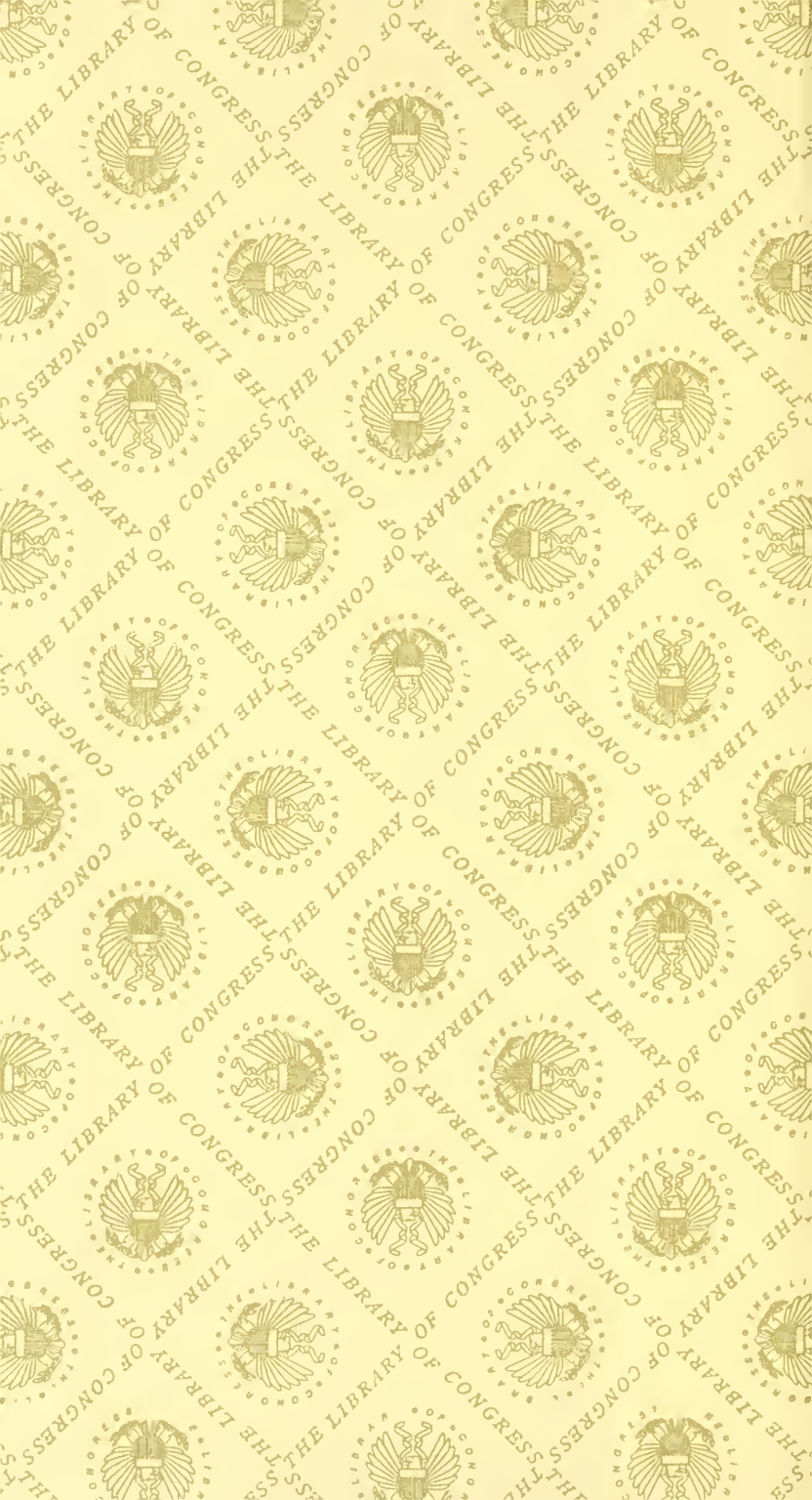
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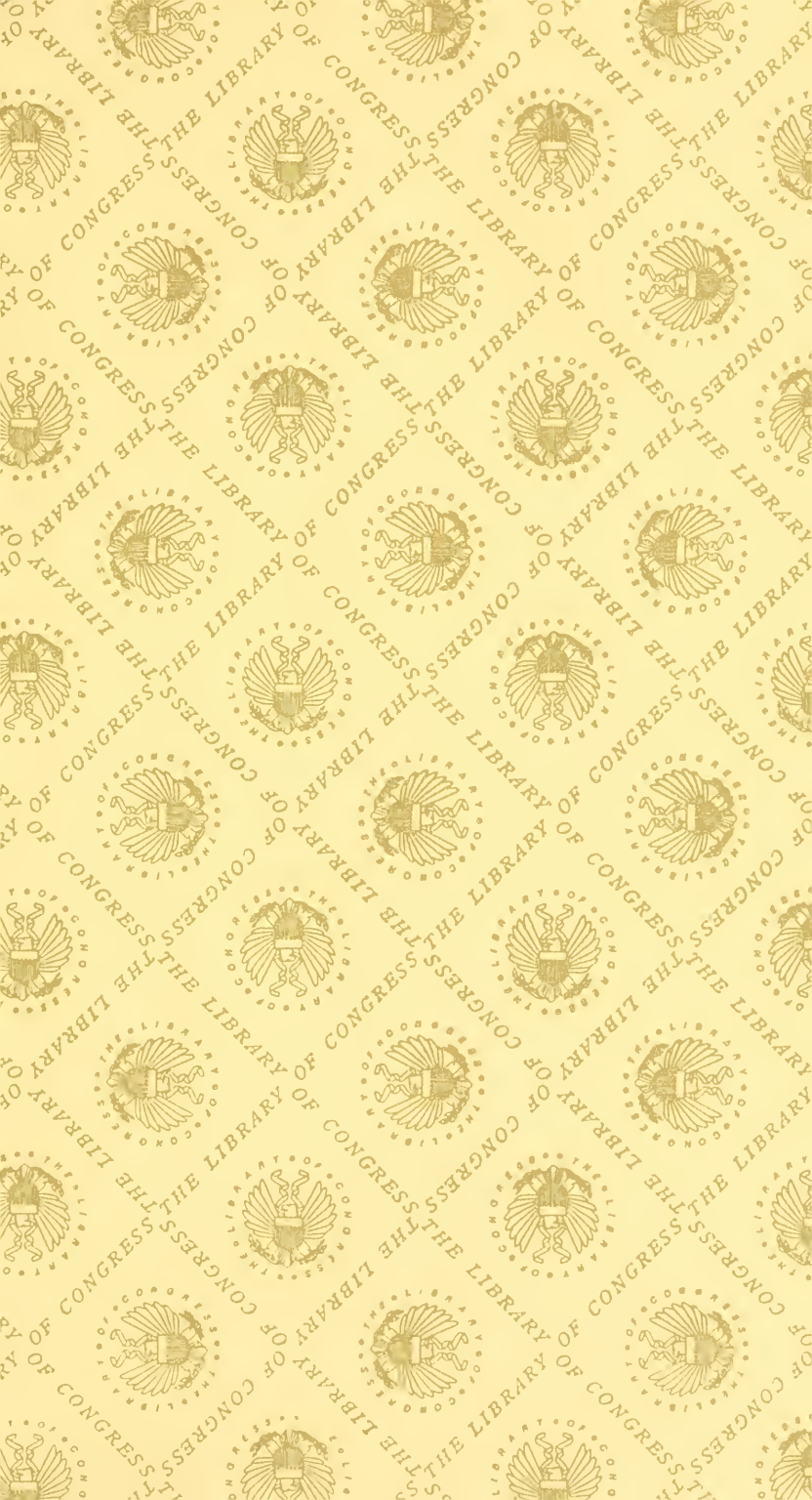
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THE UNION—THE CONSTITUTION—PEACE.

A

THANKSGIVING SERMON,

BY

JNO. WALKER JACKSON.

THE UNION—THE CONSTITUTION—PEACE.

A

THANKSGIVING SERMON,

DELIVERED IN THE

LOCUST ST. M. E. CHURCH, HARRISBURG, PA.

BY

JNO. WALKER JACKSON, Pastor.

AUGUST 6, 1863.

“Victories on the land and on the sea, so signal and so effective as to furnish reasonable grounds for augmented confidence that the UNION OF THESE STATES will be maintained, their CONSTITUTION preserved, and their PEACE and prosperity permanently restored.”

PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

HARRISBURG:

“TELEGRAPH” STEAM BOOK AND JOB OFFICE.

1863.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

HARRISBURG, AUG. 6, 1863.

REV. MR. JACKSON,

PASTOR OF THE LOCUST STREET M. E. CHURCH.

DEAR SIR:—The undersigned, having just returned from listening to your great sermon on the Constitution and the Union, beg leave to tender you their sincere thanks for the research, the ability and patriotism which characterized it. In our opinion, it was not only a great sermon teaching men under all circumstances to do right to their fellows, their country and their God, but it contained, also, the arguments of a statesman and the thoughts of a learned and lofty Christian. We desire, therefore, that the benefits we have derived from listening to its delivery, be extended to the people of the whole country, and we earnestly request that you will furnish a copy of the same sermon to be printed and circulated in such manner as we may decide upon.

There is no class of men so powerful for good as the Clergy. If they will, in every pulpit throughout the whole land with the same courage and ability which have distinguished your career as a loyal man and Christian Pastor, come out boldly in defence of the Administration of Mr. Lincoln in his efforts to arrest conspiracy, we shall soon see the restoration of our beloved Union. It requires only a united North to end this unholy war and bring the patriots now fighting the battles of the country to their beloved homes to receive the grateful applause of their countrymen and the warm welcomes of the loved ones at home.

Your friends truly,

A. O. HESTER,
G. G. RAKESTRAW,
J. J. WEITZEL,
GEO. F. ROSS,
WM. H. AMEY,
J. C. BOMBERGER,
JAMES M. SELLERS,
R. A. MARTIN,
JOHN J. CLYDE,
S. H. ETTLA,
GEORGE H. OSGOOD,
G. W. HAUPT,
C. M'CURDY.

SIMON CAMERON,
WM. COLDER,
W. T. HILDRUP,
AARON BOMBAUGH,
A. F. SWARTZ,
J. C. YOUNG,
A. C. SMITH,
J. D. CAMERON,
BENJAMIN GROFT,
DAVID MUMMA,
L. J. G. SHICK,
N. S. ENGLE,

HARRISBURG, AUG. 8, 1863.

HON. SIMON CAMERON AND OTHERS—

GENTLEMEN:—Your request is, with me, a satisfactory reason why my sermon, delivered on the 6th of August, should be published. Its length, with the extreme heat of the day, caused me to omit the expression of some views that I esteem as truthful and as important as any that I uttered, at the time; I have therefore taken the liberty of submitting the discourse for publication as originally prepared. My views of duty as a Minister of the Gospel, and as a citizen of the Republic in this, the crisis of her history, would not suffer me to do less than I have done. Give an honest and hearty support to the existing Government in its efforts to suppress a needless and cruel rebellion. My only regret is that I can do so little in a cause so righteous, and at a period when so much is to be done.

With great respect, I am

Sincerely and truly yours,

JNO. WALKER JACKSON.

THANKSGIVING DISCOURSE.

It was in my sick chamber, when my soul seemed listening to "the swellings of Jordan," that the conscience within me inquired how, if my life were spared until to-day, should I perform my share of its duties? What should be the burden of my message to you? What *lessons of the hour* should I essay to teach? The answer, that after thoughtful hours of meditation and prayer, I gave to conscience, I will now utter in your hearing, humbly soliciting the Divine guidance; God's blessing upon that which I shall say that is truthful and wise, His forgiveness for all that in my ignorance I may speak unwisely.

What are the grounds for the proclamation of this day, closing our places of business and opening our churches at the invitation of the Chief Magistrate of this free nationality? Why, to-day, are we here to fill the courts of God's sanctuary with praise and thanksgiving? Hear the answer of the Proclamation:

"It has pleased Almighty God to hearken to the supplications and prayers of an afflicted people, and to vouchsafe to the Army and the Navy of the United States *victories on land and on the sea, so signal and so effective as to furnish reasonable grounds for augmented confidence that the Union of these States will be maintained, their Constitution preserved, and their peace and prosperity permanently restored.*"

We are here, then, to praise God for "signal and effective victories on the land and on the sea." Victories that have cost "sacrifices of life, limb, health and liberty, incurred by brave, loyal and patriotic citizens." "In the train of these fearful bereavements" have followed "domestic afflictions in

every part of the country:” wives made widows, children made orphans, parents made childless; a land full of Rachels, “weeping for their children and refusing to be comforted.” “Victory is turned into mourning.” Victories and sorrows go hand in hand; and no mere splendor of victory can atone for such multiplied and wide spread sorrows. A land, one vast field of blood, full of breaking hearts and—*victory*? And yet we are told—“It is meet and right—equally in these *triumphs* and sorrows—to recognize and confess the presence of the Almighty Father and the power of his hand.”

Why should the song to-day of lofty tone, ring out above and drown the low, mournful wail of anguish? Why? Because of *victory*! Victories in contests undertaken merely for national glory—to spread abroad a nation’s fame—call for humiliation, and fasting and prayer—not thanksgiving, praise and prayer;—call for sackcloth and ashes; for the higher the elevation and glory obtained by any nation or people through such victories, the deeper the subsequent degradation and humiliation, for “pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.”

But our victories, “so signal and so effective by land and sea,” have been achieved in no mad spirit of conquest or of aggression; they are the victories of law over violence, of government over anarchy. Victories in defence of a long established government, a Constitutional, peaceful, beneficent government—against a principle making any such *Union* as this was intended to be, a mere impossibility. *Victories*—furnishing reasonable ground for augmented confidence,

- 1st. That the Union of these States shall be maintained;
- 2d. Our Constitution preserved;
- 3d. Peace and prosperity permanently restored.

Blessed and glorious issues of victories! Therefore the song of praise: therefore the psalm of thanksgiving! Victories in a cause so pure as ours, and for a purpose so grand and sublime, for Union, for Constitutional Liberty, for Peace, for such Victories—while we sorrow for the dead, who die not alone for us, but for the coming millions who are to inherit the maintained Nationality—the grand old Union—let us rejoice.

In this spirit is this day set apart as one of national thanks-

giving, praise and prayer, and in this spirit we are met for its observance; to "render the homage due to the Divine Majesty
 "for the wonderful things He has done in the nation's behalf,
 "and invoke the influence of His holy spirit to subdue the
 "anger which has produced and so long sustained a needless
 "and cruel rebellion; to change the hearts of the insurgents;
 "to guide the counsels of the Government with wisdom adequate to so great a national emergency, and to visit with
 "tender care and consolation throughout the length and
 "breadth of our land all those who, through the vicissitudes
 "of marches, voyages, battles and sieges, have been brought
 "to suffer in mind, body, or estate, and finally to lead the
 "whole nation, through the paths of repentance and submission to the Divine will, back to the perfect enjoyment of
 "Union and fraternal peace."

I. WE REJOICE IN THE CONFIDENCE THAT THE UNION OF THESE STATES WILL BE SUSTAINED.

But the question meets us at the very threshold of our rejoicing. Why should "Victories so signal and so effective as to furnish reasonable grounds for augmented confidence that the Union of these States will be sustained, their constitution preserved, peace and prosperity be permanently restored," be the subject of thanksgiving, prayer and praise? Are these issues so linked together that the one depends upon the other—that the loss of one is the loss of all? Why is the *Union of these States* so earnestly to be desired; so ardently to be maintained? Are all the sacrifices and suffering, to which I have alluded, and that are so touchingly described in the proclamation of our President, to be willingly made, to be patiently endured for the maintenance of the Union? May not the Constitution be preserved the great sheet anchor of our national hope, may not permanent peace and prosperity be secured and the Union be divided? the independence, as it is termed, of the South be acknowledged? Why may not eighteen States be governed by the Constitution, as well as thirty-five? Sublime as it is in idea to have a grand, undivided national domain stretching from the lakes on the north to the gulf on the south, from ocean to ocean—Why? for a sublime idea, a vast unwieldy territory, pour out rivers of blood and sacrifice millions of treasure?

Divide, and have peace, and over all that remains of territory and of people, let the mantle of our glorious Constitution fall! What did the English people lose of Constitutional liberty by the loss of their American Colonial possessions as the result of the war of the Revolution? and what shall we lose should this war cease and the South be left to work out her own destiny?

Do I utter the unexpressed thoughts of any before me?—Does any lover of Constitutional Liberty—any one sincerely attached to a Republican form of government, such as God has given to us, think that Peace and Liberty can be preserved by such a course? Come, let us reason together! What, preserve the Constitution, and submit to the demands of the conspirators against that Constitution? The Constitution was “ordained to *form* a more perfect Union,” and will you preserve it by giving up one of its clearly defined objects?—its *greatest* purpose? Divide! Recognize the independence of a Southern Confederacy, and what security have you that you shall not again and again be called upon to recognize the independence of other States and confederacies of States? What security have you that New York City would not assume the “*independent position*” that Fernando Wood upon the eve of these hostilities proposed that she should assume? Nay, what right would you have to prevent it? Suffer the South to accomplish her purpose, and what hope have you that the remaining United States shall remain “one and indivisible?” We have said of the old United States—the United States of the Atlas, and yet, thank God, of the loyal heart—that it was “one and indivisible,” and after having suffered the knife of division to separate, with what show of confidence will we say that the *new* United States, starting in separation, and recognizing the *right* of secession, shall maintain against internal dissension her unity and integrity? Upon what principle would you dare oppose an already conceded right? The very life departed from the Union, the principle of cohesion gone, nothing then remains, but the supplication “give us a place to bury” the dead form of loveliness, doomed to rottenness and disintegration, “out of our sight,” for “no Promethean fire can again the living light relume.” The *Union* becomes absolutely and forever an impossibility, and discordant

belligerent States, petty nationalities, occupy its place in the family of nations. "O, lame and impotent conclusion" to a past like that of ours! The South, in the event of her success—as her leading men have declared and the tendency of current events clearly indicate—does not contemplate such a form of government; for success, with our form of government, and her interpretation of its genius and spirit, would be her ruin; but, knowing the advantages of Union, she will construct her government on the basis of a strong centralized despotism.

We dare not admit the right of secession. It scarce needs an argument to establish its baselessness, its utter want of constitutionality; for no constitution ever made provision for the death of the nation of which it is the organic law; and as the *Union* is constitutional, everything necessary to preserve the Union is constitutional, for constitutions do not give a people a work to do without giving them the means to do it with. That the disruption of the Union is unconstitutional, but that the Constitution provides no means for its prevention, such a doctrine makes our form of government the absurdest ever conceived of—pretending Union for its object, and yet providing no security against the great antagonist and destroyer of the Union.

We feel the clear comprehensive idea of American nationality. We know that the trust of territory that God has given to us on this continent is to be maintained in common *for all* and *by all*. There is to the American people no North, no South, but an undivided territory to be transmitted to our children as our fathers transmitted it to us, their children; held not for national vanity, not to be cut and split into warring sections but as a sacred trust for human happiness in Liberty, and having accepted the pledge to guarantee to every State a Republican form of government, we dare not even risk the possibility of the establishment of any other form. We shall and will hold up the old flag, maintaining it with all that it means for the poor, the degraded and the oppressed.

Disunion is not peace: cannot be peace. We know that causes of war, now scarcely contemplated, would again and again kindle its horrid flames. We mean to have a permanent peace, and for this we mean to maintain the union of these States.

My friends, there is nothing clearer to us than the right of the Government in this contest, and nothing more certain than its ability to maintain the right, with what every government ought to have: the cordial support of all its professedly loyal citizens.

And here let me say that I approach what is to me the most painful part of my subject, the effort of a minority, but a powerful minority, to thwart the action of the Government in its honest efforts to suppress the rebellion.

I do not believe—I have not believed in the darkest hour—and there have been dark hours, to me, to you, and to every lover of the country, from its Chief Magistrate down to the humblest citizen—that these efforts can be successful. Did I believe that, I should lose confidence in the capacity of man for self-government. Thank God, I have not lost that yet—nay, that confidence grows stronger. But I lament these divisions, these fault-findings, this covert opposition, in the North, to the Government, because it but prolongs the war, it but multiplies the frightful “loss of life, limb, property, liberty.” over which we all weep. The secret enemy strengthens the hands of the open enemy. I have been sad at times, very sad—as who has not been? It was not *the mother* who could look with unconcerned composure upon the threatened division of the child by the judgment of Solomon. The mother whose child is sick tells you by her countenance and manner how the sickness goes; her hopes and fears as to the child’s recovery during all the long nights and days of watchfulness are reflected in her face as in a glass; the rise and fall of hope are seen there as the conditions of the atmosphere are visible in a barometer, although she may not have lost her confidence in the skill of her physician, under God, to restore the child again to health. So the loyal, having every confidence in the ultimate result of this struggle, have felt sad, O, how sad! My sadness has not been at reverses—they were to have been expected—but because I have seen the leaven of treason at work in our loyal communities; the demon of rebellion lurking in our valleys, ready at any hour or moment to deluge the loyal States with the crimson current that has rolled over Virginia and Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas and Mississippi. Have you not heard ignorant, deluded men, who never read a

line of the Constitution—at the instigation of shrewd political knaves, who, setting themselves up as champions of the Constitution, aim at its subversion—prate about its violation?—What single measure absolutely indispensable to preserve the Government from overthrow, has failed to be assaulted with furious violence by some newspapers and men? Rebels in arms have had demanded for them every right to which loyal citizens are entitled. According to these constitutionalists it is unconstitutional to touch the property which gives to insurrectionists against the Constitution the power to be mischievous. Traitors among ourselves employed the liberty which they possessed in organizing bands to obstruct the movements of national armies, even on their way to defend the capital, and it is unconstitutional to restrain them. To aid by legislation a loyal State in ridding itself of a political ulcer, whose rottenness, where it has been allowed to run its course, has corrupted the whole body politic, and has nearly cost the nation its life—this is unconstitutional. Anything, with these political knaves, to save the Constitution, is unconstitutional, and nothing is constitutional but the right to subvert the Constitution. The plain tenor of their speeches and writings discouraged volunteering, and then the conscription was unconstitutional in any form, and then in some of its features. Resistance to the law of the land all over the land was urged, a *law* which like a criminal who is supposed to be innocent until he is proved guilty, should have been imagined to have had the force of constitutionality until declared unconstitutional. Resistance to the death, urged from the platform, and the simplest provision of the bill, introduced, as it would be easy to show, for the sake of the poor, represented as an invidious distinction, until the murder of the officers of the law became a common event in some localities, and the most horrible riot known in the nineteenth century, unparalleled by anything in history, except the dark days of the French Revolution, disgraced the civilization of the age and the metropolis of the nation. A riot, the unmistakable result of all this teaching, of these inflammatory utterances, one of whose ringleaders, who made speeches to fan it during its progress, was a popular speaker at the so-called peace meetings held in the Cooper Institute and elsewhere. Peace, whose fruit was blood, carnage,

death! And oh, when the streets were flowing in blood, when the fierce unnatural hatred against a poor, unoffending people, who have no hand in making laws, nor voice in the choice of administrations, but the prejudices against whom had been fanned into diabolical eunty by these very newspapers and men; when these poor creatures were hunted from their homes, and being shot, stabbed, and hung, and burned, this foul dastardly riot was designated by these newspapers an "*uprising of the people,*" and the *efforts* that were made to suppress it were used to more highly inflame the rioters by such head lines to newspaper columns as "*the military fired upon the people;*" and when some quarters of the city where these poor creatures lived, the objects of the insane hatred of the rioters, were likely to be overlooked by the murderers, they were in indirect phrase invited to do there as they had done elsewhere, by the chief organ of the satanic press, the *New York Herald*; and rioters were spoken to in honeyed phrases, and called "*friends,*" by those who, if they spake at all, should have spoken sternly;—rioters who were not to be subdued by human utterances, but by the speech of authority from the cannon's mouth. Many guilty ones have suffered from the riots, many more will be tried and condemned, but the more guilty instigators—they whose teachings sowed this harvest of whirlwinds—they will escape; they who by inflammatory words urged revolution as the only means of saving the country, urged open and violent resistance to constitutional authority as the legitimate and even proper means of upholding the Constitution, until they produced a riot against the law, against the *Republic*—they will escape. A riot, whose watchwords were hurrahs for Davis, and who for a time were so open in their treason as to carry the flag of Rebels. A riot, in the interests of the so-called Southern Confederacy, for have you not seen with what insane joy its fiendish details were commented upon by southern newspapers? No reverse to our arms has ever been hailed by them more gladly. They write about that riot as if a battle had been fought at New York, in which they were the victors, a battle whose result was decisive of their independence. *It was subdued,* and the national authority vindicated—vindicated at New York, as at Gettysburg.

But, my friends, I should be false to the teachings of Him

who *was* and *is*, and shall forever be the friend of the oppressed, of Him whose minister I profess to be, and who feels a wrong done to the lowliest of mankind as done unto Himself, did I not take occasion to say a word in reprobation of that unchristian prejudice against color, which so often has its violent demonstration in the cities and villages of our land; that prejudice which designing demagogues educate to bitterness, and fan into fiercest flames for the basest purposes of party. The "*American of African descent*," the negro, is among us here by no choice or act of his own, and our duty to him is clearly marked out by the finger of a Divine Providence pointing to him in his helplessness and degradation, and saying, "Take this child and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages." Our duty to the negro in our midst, at our doors, cannot be evaded, by immense contributions for the evangelization of degraded Chinamen, or of the African of golden sands watered by rivers of pearl. He is the touchstone of our civilization, humanity, christianity, and we are shameless hypocritical liars if we deny to him the offices of kindness and love, looking past him, to Booriboola Gha for the objects of our benevolent efforts in alleviating the wants and woes of suffering humanity. He will test the charity of America in the nineteenth century, for of him will Jesus say to the christian churches of America in that day for which all other days are made, "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto the least of these my brethren, ye did it not unto me."

But to return from what may appear a digression, and yet in the very nature of my discourse, one that seemed to me unavoidable—

To those unanswerable arguments in favor of the maintenance of the Union of these States growing out of the geographical configuration of our country, the flow and the extent of our rivers, the direction of our mountains and valleys, the great lingual argument that the confusion of tongues separating continental Europe into diversified peoples does not exist here, but that *one speech*, for governmental purposes, in the main for social intercourse demands one people—one government—I merely allude. You have heard them and read them, and they are irresistible—they are prophetic of the issue of this controversy. I dismiss this part of my subject by saying—the dissolution of this Union would be national suicide.

II. WE REJOICE IN THE CONFIDENCE THAT OUR CONSTITUTION
SHALL BE PRESERVED.

The British Constitution is the peculiar boast of an Englishman. What is the British Constitution? A something, like a Poet's dream, "an airy nothing without a local habitation or a name." There is no copy of it to be found in public or private library from one end of the British dominion to the other. This impalpable thing is law, acts of Parliament, concessions of Kings, long established usage, immemorial consent of the people, the vast majority of whom cannot know what it is, or understand its meaning. We, too, boast of our Constitution, but it is accurately and clearly defined in writing, a condensation of governmental wisdom, whose objects are intelligibly distinguished. A monument of the wisdom of our fathers who cradled a Government amid the storms of revolution and made provision for *peaceful* revolutions by the ballot box, and for the prevention of *bloody* revolutions by giving to us a system of government, a *Constitution*—not to be too frequently tampered with, but yet making provisions for the changes that the increasing wisdom of the people, or the exigencies of future times may demand.

I look upon our Constitution as something almost sacred, such was the influence of the teachings of my childhood, such the judgment of my manhood. We thank God to-day for victories on the land and on the sea, so signal and so effective as to furnish reasonable grounds for augmented confidence that—"the Constitution shall be preserved."

But this Constitution is violated, say the *enemies* of the country who claim to be the exclusive *friends* of the Constitution. It is crucified in the house of its friends. The Administration in its efforts to preserve the Union violate the Constitution. On a bright summer day in 1861, I sat in the crowded galleries of the Senate Chamber of the United States. It was but a very few days prior to the first battle of Bull Run. I was there to listen to a speech by an ex-vice-president, then a member of that body, and a traitor in heart and word, now a general in the army of insurrection. In that speech he said, I wrote it down as he uttered it, that "the efforts being made to preserve the Union were digging

the grave of Constitutional Liberty." All secessionists talk in the same way, all sympathizers with secession speak the same language, and that expression in as many varied forms as it is possible to utter it, has been the favorite weapon of the Northern members of this school of politics in their attacks on this war of self-preservation. What did the utterance mean in his mouth?—but that the nation must die to preserve its Constitution—die to continue the organic law by which it lives. And when the nation thus dies, what becomes of the necessity of its Constitution? It would be as absurd in the abodes of the dead, in cemeteries to hang up rules of conduct, precepts for the regulation of their intercourse one with the other, as to speak of the sacredness of Constitutions to dead nations. My friends, the Constitution which made more perfect the Union of these States, was made to preserve, under God, that which our fathers had struggled for, OUR NATIONALITY, to continue that nationality demands its maintenance.

One of the sublime chapters in Bancroft's History of America is headed, "*An American Empire in the Divine Decrees.*" In that chapter Wm. Livingston is reported as saying as early as April, seventeen hundred and sixty-eight, "Courage, Americans! liberty, religion and sciences are on the wing to these shores. The finger of God points out a mighty empire to your sons. The savages of the wilderness were never expelled to make room for idolaters and slaves. The land we possess is the gift of Heaven to our fathers, and divine Providence seems to have decreed it to our latest posterity. So legible is this munificent and celestial deed in past events, that we need not be discouraged by the bickerings between us and our parent country. The angry cloud will soon be dispersed, and America advance to felicity and glory with redoubled rapidity and vigor. The day dawns in which the foundation of this Empire is to be laid by the establishment of a regular AMERICAN CONSTITUTION. All that has hitherto been done, seems to be little beside the collection of materials for this glorious fabric. 'Tis time to put them together. The transfer of the European part of the family is so vast, that *before seven years roll over our heads* the first stone must be laid."

In 1775, just seven years, and to the very month, this struggle of ideas took the form of battle on the 19th of April, at Lexington. Oh, day made doubly sacred in our history by the first shedding of blood in the war of the Revolution, and the first shedding of blood in this war for the maintenance of our form of Government, on the 19th day of April, 1861, when Massachusetts' freemen consecrated Baltimore sacred by their blood forever to the Union and to freedom.

You cannot keep too prominently before your minds this sentiment of nationality, this thrilling idea of a national life endangered; for that *is the* most terrible feature of this struggle, and sacred as is the Constitution, as the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath, so the Constitution was made for the Union—the Nation—and not the Union for the Constitution, and we fight for entirely constitutional purposes, when we take up arms to preserve the Union. It is this idea that puts the seal of an everlasting reprobation upon the treason of Southern Slaveholders, because every motive to the destruction of the Union—to the subversion of the Constitution—was thus put away by insuring to each successive generation, the right to alter, amend, or improve its Constitution according to the increasing intelligence of the living people.

In order to give more emphasis to thoughts that I conceive to be important, I shall present a short historical retrospect, that may, perhaps, have the force of an argument.

On the 19th day of June, 1754, a memorable Congress assembled at Albany. Our great historian says, that "America had never seen an assembly so venerable, whether for the States that were represented, or for the great and able men that composed it." "Every voice in that Assembly declared a Union of the Colonies absolutely necessary. And as a province might recede at will from an unratified covenant, the most benignant of statesmen were deputed to prepare a constitution for a perpetual confederation. Hutchinson, of Mass., Hopkins, of R. I., Pitkins, of Conn., Smith, of N. Y., and Franklin, of Philadelphia, composed that committee." "Franklin had already projected a plan of perpetual Union, and had brought the heads of it with him. As soon as the

objects of the Convention had been reached, they had met to concert measures of defence, and to treat with the six nations and tribes in their alliance, with the dismissal of the red men, commenced the discussion of the *federal compact*. The project of Franklin was accepted, and on the 10th day of July he produced the finished plan of perpetual union, which was read paragraph by paragraph and debated for the entire day. It was then, in the language of the historian, agreed to "pretty unanimously."

"It is not altogether to my mind," said Franklin, in speaking of it, "but it is as I could get it."

The New England Colonies had, in their infancy, given birth to a confederacy. Wm. Penn, in 1697, had proposed an Annual Congress of all the provinces on the continent of America with power to regulate commerce. Franklin had now revived the great idea and breathed into it an enduring life. As he descended the Hudson, the people of New York thronged about him to welcome, and he was revered as the founder of the American Union. The scheme met with opposition among the Colonies, but its greatest opposition is declared "to have been from *among* reflecting men in England who dreaded *American Union as the Keystone of Independence*;" as they now dread American Union as the Keystone of American dignity and power. Franklin lived to see the adoption in 1778 of "the Articles of Confederation and perpetual union," in which South Carolina united with her sister States in declaring "that we do solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents that the Union shall be perpetual." He lived still on to be a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and there proposed that their deliberations be sanctified by prayer to Him without whose notice a sparrow falls not to the ground,

"Who wheels his throne upon the rolling worlds,"

Who presides over the destinies of nations, and Who guided the deliberations of that august assemblage to the adoption of the American Constitution, "ordained to form a more perfect Union."

Have I not made out my case? Was not the Union prior to the Constitution? Does not the comparative imply the positive? Grammatically, logically, *historically*,

does not the more perfect Union of 1787 demonstrate the existence of the Union prior to that period? And this "perfect Union" was deemed by the patriots and sages of the Revolution, by the Father of the Constitution, a bond of "national existence." *George Washington*, the President of the Convention of 1787, who ought, at least, to be considered good authority by every American citizen, said "in our efforts to establish a new national government, the contest, nationally considered, seems not to have been so much for glory, as for existence. It was for a long time doubtful, whether we were to survive as an independent republic, or decline from our federal dignity into insignificant and withered fragments of Empire." The history of the period, the struggles of fierce debate that took place in reference to the structure of the Government, the nature and extent of its powers, its deficiencies and omissions, prior to its ratification by the people, afford the clearest and strongest confirmation of his words. These objections of different degrees and magnitude, of totally opposite natures, were urged with zeal and ability. At last the Constitution triumphed, in the language of the letter of the Convention to Congress: "as the result of a spirit of unity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable; keeping steadily in view that which appeared to them,"—and does to us,—"the greatest interest of every true American—the consolidation of our Union—in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence." The formation of a more perfect Union was their great object. The perils of a mere confederation had been experienced and to them were incapable of exaggeration. They had achieved a separation from the mother country; but the adoption of the Constitution was esteemed "a triumph of National Liberty." The Union of these States, in the language of Washington, "was the main pillar of their Independence."

Now, look at the instrument itself. The Constitution. For what purpose was it formed? Why adopted? By whom?

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tran-

quility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America."

Sublime and beneficent purposes!

We, *the people*—not *the States*—do ordain and establish, not do contract and enter into a treaty with each other, this Constitution for the United States of America, not this treaty between the several States. This preamble was not adopted as a mere formulary, but is the solemn promulgation of a fundamental fact, vital to the character and operations of the Government. Its obvious object was to secure a Government of the people, instead of a confederacy of States; a Constitution to them rather than a compact. "If ratified by States only, the States respectively, at their pleasure, might repeal it; this alone exhibited the necessity of laying the foundation of a national government deeper than in the mere sanction of delegated power." They rested the fabric of an American Republic on the solid basis of the consent of the people. This Constitution, ordained and established by the people, for the people, comprehends six objects:

1. A more perfect Union.
2. The establishment of justice.
3. The insurance of domestic tranquility.
4. Provisions for the common defence.
5. The promotion of the general welfare.
6. The security of the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

It would be a pleasing and useful task, did our time permit, to consider and trace the relation which each of these objects bear to the others, and to show that collectively they embrace everything requisite, with the blessing of divine providence to render a people prosperous and happy. But we shall consider that design alone which affects the duty of the hour.

A more perfect Union. At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, it is well known that several confederacies were contemplated, but opponents of the Union settled down into the advocacy of two; one composed of the Northern and Middle, the other of the Southern States, and the arguments against two confederacies were thus expressed.

The advocates of Union said then, "If the ties of religion, language, a common ancestry, attachment to the same princi-

ples of government, similar habits, manners, customs; if these will not hold us together in the bonds of peace and union when forming one government, acting for the interests, and as the representative of the rights of the whole, how could we expect peace when side by side, interests and representations separate; ambition, local interests and feelings, peculiarities of climate, products, institutions and imaginary aggressions or real grievances, rivalries of commerce and jealousy of dominion, should spread themselves over the distinct councils, which would regulate our concerns by an independent legislation." Thus they reasoned, and for these reasons they clung to the idea of *national unity* binding the people into one harmonious whole.

That there might be no conflict between State and National authority, they ordained and established "that this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the *supreme law of the land*. And the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in *the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding*."

Nothing was opposed with more violence at the time of the adoption of the federal Constitution than this article, and especially the last clause, because, it was, and, is the death of that doctrine of State Sovereignty, always a political heresy, taught in the past by a school of politicians whose avowed object was the disruption of the Union, and now advocated by those who would prevent, under a show of devotion to the Constitution, the restoration of the Union. This clause made the *Nation Supreme*.

The special violations of the Constitution that are alleged are 1st, *in reference to the writ of Habeas Corpus*. All the figures of rhetoric have been exhausted in its praise. Of late, they have been used over and over again, by men and newspapers who would trammel the energetic action of the Government, when to save its life energy is demanded.

Every one who has read the Constitution admits that the writ of *Habeas Corpus* may at certain times be suspended, although I have met with some very *intelligent* sympathizers with rebellion who were very strict Constitution-

alists, but whose knowledge of the Constitution seems to have been obtained from the lucid commentaries of their party newspapers, who denied that power was vested *anywhere* for its suspension, "for," said they, "if so, the personal liberty of the subject would be at the option of the ruler." But I think you will all admit that it may be suspended "when in cases of rebellion or foreign invasion. the public safety may require it."

The fact of its suspension, in certain contingencies, being admitted, the contingencies being specified, where rests the power for its suspension? And *here* lies the real difficulty. I admit that there is room for a difference of opinion, but that there is any room for the broad charge of a violation of the Constitution made against the Administration, I deny. Nay, the charge is utterly absurd. Lord Lyons said, and he knows all about the British Constitution, being a "Lord," and must, *per* consequence, know all about the American, "that Congress alone has the power," and many who would aid traitors say the same, because the President has done it. I verily believe that if Congress had suspended the writ, they would have said, the President alone had the right.

The Art. reads: "The privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* shall not," not *may* not, but "shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." Now, is it not clear that the Constitution contemplates certain grave contingencies in which the privilege of the writ *may* and *ought* to be suspended. These emergencies are "when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." But as to where the authority for its suspension is lodged, the Constitution is silent. But is there any trouble in settling the question, where the power resides? The *Habeas Corpus*, older than the Constitution, was suspended by the King, or Colonial Governors, or others acting as *his*, the Kings, representatives. In one word, the Executive had been accustomed to suspend this writ by arbitrary power. The Constitution guards against the *abuse* of this prerogative; not denying it to the Executive or transferring it to the judicial or legislative branches of the Government; but carefully defining the circumstances in which alone the writ may be suspended. Therefore, under the Constitution, as in the

Colonial period, it remains with the Executive to suspend the privilege of the writ; but he can only do it when the *public safety requires it*. The power, then, is with the President, where it of right ought to be, to enable him to fulfill his solemn vow to maintain the Constitution, to repel invasion, and to subdue rebellion. Nay, I go further; in such times as these; times of rebellion contemplated by the Constitution, the privilege of the writ is self suspended, whenever, wherever and to whatever extent the public safety demands; and except the public safety demands, neither President, Congress or any other power can suspend the privileges of the writ.

2. The next assumed violation of the Constitution of which much is said, refers to the President's Proclamation of liberty. The emancipation policy of the President. You have certainly read the proclamation: the one of the twenty-second of September, 1862, and of the first of January, 1863, and the prior legislation which led to them. You have read them, for you have read, and heard and said, undoubtedly, a great deal about them; and you have not, I trust, adopted the course of some reviewers so wittily described by Sydney Smith, that of never reading a book before reviewing it, as it prejudices them so abominably either for or against it, and, therefore, ignorance of its contents is necessary to impartiality. Taking it for granted that you have read, and are familiar with their provisions, I decline all analysis or argument of them. I say nothing here as to their expediency or necessity, but this, that they commend themselves to my mind and conscience as a means for "the extirpation of the great evil of slavery," and as a military necessity, are clearly within the limits of Presidential authority. But are they Constitutional? or may the institution that some have called divine, but whose history demonstrates it to be devilish, may it be interfered with? may it be doomed to death constitutionally? as it has been, "the public safety demanding its condemnation as" a military necessity?

Patrick Henry, the Demosthenes of the Revolution, was opposed to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Honestly opposed to it, for he had studied it and was acquainted with its provisions. He did not profess to be one of its ad-

mirers, and then explain it away so as to make it a nullity—the mere bladeless handle of a sword of authority. An instrument containing prescribed duties without commensurate powers to enforce obedience. In the Virginia Convention which ratified the Constitution, he opposed the ratification on the ground that it gave Congress the power, under certain circumstances, to abolish slavery. He said:

“One of the great objects of Government is the national defence. The Constitution gives power to the General Government to provide for the *general defence*, and the means must be commensurate to the end. All the means in the possession of the people must be given to the Government which is intrusted with the public defence. May Congress not say *every black man must fight*? In the war of the Revolution, Virginia passed an act of Assembly that every slave who would join the army should be free. At some future time, Congress will search the Constitution to see if they have not the power of manumission. And have they not, sir? Have they not the power to provide for the general defence and welfare? May they not think that these call for the abolition of slavery? May they not pronounce all slaves free? and will they not be warranted by that power? The paper speaks to the point; they have the power in clear, unequivocal terms, and will clearly and certainly exercise it.”

Emancipation, then, is Constitutional. Patrick Henry was prophetic in his utterance. Slavery has proved itself to be the mortal foe of the Constitution and the Union, and as such it must die. Its abolition is a necessity.

3. I have heard the arming of the negroes opposed, on what were pretended to be Constitutional grounds. Patrick Henry said that it was done in the war of the Revolution. Washington did it. Virginia approved it by act of Assembly. In the war of 1812, Andrew Jackson did it for the defence of New Orleans. And he who could give the approbation of a *hero*, heroically, when it was merited by deeds of approved valor, said to the men of color:

“Soldiers:—From the shores of Mobile, I collected you to arms—I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you; for I was not uninformed of those qualities which

must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man. But you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united to these qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds."

4. But all the various questions that have arisen need not to be settled in detail; but by the principles of our Government. Our Government was made *by the people*, for the people, and as such its Constitution gives the powers necessary to its preservation, and the enforcement of the laws, and "it can interfere with any institution, condition or social status into which any of the subjects of the United States can enter, whenever such interference becomes essential as a means of public welfare or common defence." *Self-preservation*, is the first and primary law of nations, as well as of individuals. But it is claimed, that while it would be wrong to destroy our Government, that it has made no provision for its own salvation, and must die whenever a portion of its subjects in rebellion may demand. Why does it not provide for such exigencies, for such emergencies when it says:

"That Congress has power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any officer thereof:"—and among these foregoing powers are the suppression of rebellion and the preservation of the Union.

The Government is bound by the express letter of the Constitution to guarantee to South Carolina and to every other State "*in the Union*," not out of it, a Republican form of government, and it gives me an inexpressible joy, this morning, to know that the Government is in a fair way to guarantee to South Carolina that which she so much needs—a republican form of Government, recognizing that "all men are created free and equal."

III. WE REJOICE IN THE CONFIDENCE THAT THE PERMANENT PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF THESE STATES SHALL BE RESTORED.

I love peace. I would not justify—I could not justify a war of *aggression* and of *conquest*. The United States is jus-

tified in this contest, before Europe, the World, before God, in that she is the rightful Government, and is bound by every principle of law, human or divine, to be "a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well." I justify her, because, this war, upon the part of her rebellious subjects, is an insurrection in the interests of slavery against Democracy—against the will of the majority. It cannot succeed. Not that the North must triumph. I know no North in this controversy—the Government must triumph. Slavery, like all other huge crimes against God, and against a nation's life, should have died, died decently when the hour of its departure came. The Constitution made provision for its extinction, by the force of moral sentiments and religious teachings, by carefully and of set purpose keeping out of the instrument the terms *slave* or *slavery*, or the equivalent of either. They were not allowed "to blot the face of a Constitution destined to continue long after this nefarious and anomalous system, in direct conflict with the ethical, and ethico-political principles of our whole system of Government, shall have passed away, and perished." Its hour of doom, of death, was fast hastening. The enlightened moral public sentiment of the world was against its existence. Its metes and bounds had been appointed it. The people, faithful to conditions, to compromises, were willing to wait ages, if it were necessary, for its slow demise, its gradual death. But insolently defying the decree of the majority, claiming a continent for its inheritance, it sought to sap the foundation of civil and religious liberty, and then in madness rushed upon the thick bosses of the Constitution. It must die. The decree of God is death to *murderers* and it sought to kill a nation. I love peace, but war rather than death. I hate war, I *abhor* the necessity for civil tumult and strife. I long for, pray for, preach for, the day when war and its causes shall cease forever from off the face of the earth. But there are some things worse than war, worse than civil conflicts.

"Civil tumults," says Algerman Sydney, "are not the greatest evils that befall a nation. 'Tis ill that men should kill one another, in seditious tumults and wars, but 'tis worse to bring men to such misery and baseness as to have neither courage nor strength to contend for anything—to have

nothing worth defending, and to give the name of peace to desolation. Civil wars may be a right necessary means of moral and political improvement." Peace, permanent peace, demands the preservation of the Union, the maintenance of the National authority!

Victories in the cause of right. Victories for the government promise peace. July, 1863, will long be remembered as the month of months during these two years of darkness and of gloom. No one in Harrisburg can forget the closing days of June, they were dark, very dark to the citizens of this place. We were alarmed, at least all who know of the extent of the danger, and to others the very uncertainty added to the natural terror. A foe, the more implacable and revengeful from the very wickedness of the cause in which he was engaged, approached steadily the capital of the greatest State of this Union. The very fact that it was the capital, caused us to fear greater violence than would ordinarily characterise war. We knew *that if taken* the public buildings would be burned, for that, if no other reason, our homes were in danger. *That Sabbath of terror.* It is passed and is as a dream, a fearful dream, when one awaketh. The morning of the 4th of July came, that rainy gloomy Saturday, day ever memorable in our History, but no speech making, no bonfires, no illuminations made our hearts glad. We listened for news from Gettysburg. We yet knew not how the conflict would terminate and our hearts almost stood still. At last it came. The insurrectionists were retreating, the uncertain contest of the first, had ripened into the glorious victory of the fourth. The Capital, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington relieved, and the grand historic army of the Potomac had covered itself with glory. We did not yet know of the surrender of Vicksburg, on the same day—so soon to be followed, by that of Port Hudson, but the glad news came, and then the cannons roared, and bonfires flamed, and bells rang, for the Mississippi from mouth to source was open to the flag, to commerce, to the Union. We cannot yet rightly estimate the importance of these victories. As to that of Vicksburg the usurper who claims for himself the Presidency of the so-called Southern Confederacy, said on the 20th of last December, to the legislature of Mississippi, "that the grand

“object of the North was to get possession of the river and thus cut the Confederacy in two.” “He considered the defence of the Mississippi valley a necessity not only to the people of the adjoining States, but to the Confederacy itself. Vicksburg and Port Hudson are forts which must be defended at all hazards, and every effort must be strained for for this purpose.” But they fell—and let his words be the estimate of the consequences thereof.

I cannot enumerate all the victories “so signal and so effective on the land and on the sea.” Victories carrying in their hands the grand old flag, no mere painted rag, that flag which means our whole national history, which is the Constitution, the Government, the free people that stand in the Government on the Constitution;—that flag the symbolized history of the Revolution—of the late war—of all that we have done and suffered as a people for the world. That flag which has written on all its ample folds—all this struggle for Liberty against Slavery—for government against anarchy—for law against disorder—for constitutions against mere compacts, for the Union and Republican forms of government *in it*, against so called confederacies with monarchies *out of it*.

Suffer me to add a few lessons, and point to some of the dangers of the hour.

1. I could be jubilant to-day looking southward, but my rejoicing is with trembling. Not alone is it tempered by the sympathy that I feel with the many bereaved ones in this land, with the sick and wounded, who crowd our many hospitals, and everywhere greet our eyes with the terrible evidences of this sanguinary conflict—with tears for the brave patriotic dead who have gone to God; but with the frightful slumbering possibilities of the future. We know not what a day may bring forth. What may be even yet in store for us God only knows. That He will save this nation—if this nation is *worthy* of salvation, if it will make its calling and election sure—I have always believed—I believe it now. But will this be so? Shall we work out our salvation with fear and trembling? Shall we prove ourselves worthy of the heritage of freedom that our fathers have bequeathed us? Thus far, we have done well; the nation has accomplished all that could have been reasonably expected of her. Shall we continue patient in

well doing? We are reaping that which we have sown in the past; and in the future we shall reap that which we are now sowing. Should we faint—should we fail to comprehend the divinely appointed future that God holds out as the reward of perseverance in the good and right way. Should we, misled by the teachings of evil men, fail to secure “the peace by righteousness”—and grasp the false peace of the wicked, barter away the permanent peace and prosperity of a nation that maintains its unity and dignity for the peace of compromises with wrong; then, oh, my country, “farewell, a long farewell to all thy greatness.” The politicians frighten me, for the people seem so blindly led by them—like lambs to the slaughter. What we want, and the great danger of the hour is because we have it not—is *Unity!* Not a constrained unity such as has existed in the South, a unity brought about by bayonet, but a unity of public sentiment, arising out of love to the country, born of patriotism, of which the frightful spirit of party has endeavored to deprive us.

One of the laws of Solon, the celebrated legislator of Athens, inflicted death as the penalty on every citizen who should continue neuter when parties ran high in that Republic. For to him it seemed such culpable indifference, to the interests of the Commonwealth, the declining to take a part on great and critical occasions, that death could be its only expiation. The rigor of the law is to be condemned, but the principle on which it is founded is just and solid. In contests that relate to particular men or measures, a well wisher to his country may remain silent; but when, *as now*, the great interests of a nation are at stake, when the destinies of unborn millions are at issue, when the life of a nation trembles in the balance, to have no opinion, or to hesitate in all proper ways and places as to its expression—is *crime!* Neutrality! it is impossible. He that is not with his country is against her.

You have all heard of old John Burns the Hero of Gettysburg. I stood by his bedside when he lay with the three severe wounds received on the 1st day of July, and heard him express his opinion of our duty in this contest, an opinion in which I heartily coincide—it embodies the true theory of success. “Everybody should be engaged in this struggle. Everybody should fight for the country.” “Not,” said he

in explanation, "not that everybody should shoulder the musket or carry the sword. I do not mean that, but if hindered from this, they should speak or write in favor of the government in its struggle against treason."

2. There has been a growing sentiment, dangerous to our peace, and inimical to our prosperity—that only the rich have an interest in the maintenance of our government.

One will say, "I have no pecuniary interest in the success of the government: I should lose nothing by the success of the South, for I have *nothing to lose*." Yes, you would—you would lose a government that should be dearer to you than anything on earth, for it is "the poor man's government." It has always seemed to me that the question before us, whether Republicanism shall survive upon this continent? whether the last refuge of the largest liberty compatible with order and law and public safety shall survive the shock of civil commotion? is eminently a question for the *poor man* to settle: that he has in it the greatest interest. Men of wealth may secure by their wealth their personal comfort, and that room for the exercise of a laudable ambition that possesses the minds of men—under almost any form of government. For, the *possession of property* lies at the base of all the *hereditary* distinctions of the old world, The *landed estate* accompanies the proud titles of nobility, but here the proud title is that of citizen, and citizenship is universal, and the basis of our equality in the eye of the law lies there.—There is the equal chance—and from the door of hovel or of hut, as well as of mansion, lies the plain path to all the elevations of honor. That a poor man should countenance this rebellion, that he should in any way sympathize with the foreign or domestic enemies of this country; that he should lend himself to schemes that have for their object the subversion of the rightful, of the just and legally constituted government of the country is to me a profound mystery. They who do so know not what they do. It can only be the result of false teaching. Evil men and seducers that wax worse and worse, but lead them astray.

To array a working man against the government, in this struggle, must be the result of fearful misrepresentations of

the origin, principles, purposes and ends of the Government, and of this fearful civil war of Southern slaveholders of the results, toward which, if triumphant the Rebellion, moves as the needle to the pole. The very dignity of labor is involved in this strife as plain as the shining of the sun in mid heaven. They who fight as leaders in the interests of this Rebellion would destroy democracy, they would reduce free white working men to a level with negro *slaves*, they would bring the laboring classes to an equality with negroes in their occupation, their social life, and their political destiny. "Capital" with them is to "own its labor." If in their insane efforts, their institution perish by their own traitorous hands, through the violence of the bloody war they have brought upon the country, let it perish. To fasten chains more securely upon slaves, they would overthrow your liberties and mine. The true interests of workingmen lead us to thankfulness for the victories that promise stability to the democratic form of government.

3. Another danger of the hour arises from the tendency in the public mind either to underrate or overrate the magnitude of the contest. With the one party the strength of the Rebellion has always been represented as insignificant.

Before the war we were told there would be no contest—the South only meant to bluster us into "concessions," compromises, that the Union sentiment existing in the South would soon assert itself, and bury the mad agitators in one common ruin.

After war seemed inevitable, then it was but a mere cloud in the political heavens no bigger than a human hand: in ninety days we were promised peace, and when the ninety days drew near their close, and the war was upon us, then, the South was nearly exhausted, *starved out*, "hungry," "naked." Others have gone to the extreme in the opposite direction. We could never conquer the South. The world had never seen anything like the rebellion for magnitude. The task presented to us as a people was so huge in its proportions that it was hopeless. The sword could never decide the controversy. Our only hope was in *compromise*—Compromise? *What? With whom? Compromise the outraged dignity of the Nation.* Compromise with traitors, with men whose object under the frailest gauze of deception is

the overthrow of the Republican principle on this continent, men actuated by the distinct purpose to overthrow the rule of the many, in favor of the rule of the few, who, for the sake of their institution, a disgrace to the civilization of the age, would supplant popular government and establish a monarchy, believing that it can have no effectual safeguard, except what the strongest government can afford. *Compromise* means *surrender* in many mouths, and surrender to men who openly pronounce "Republicanism a failure," and promise, reorganization and reconstruction ultimately of the entire Union upon a basis of slavery, with those forms of government which are its effectual safeguard, and that are not and cannot be in the very nature of things Democratic. But can we conquer?—*Can we save* the national life? I would by no means under-rate, not even now in the hour of victory, the task before us. A nation's death struggle may be upon us. The temple of Nationality may totter and fall, but the fall must bury a whole people in the ruins thereof. But if true to ourselves we shall but strengthen the foundations of popular government. We shall emerge from our struggle purified by the baptism of fire.

Before this war commenced, before a soldier had marched through our streets, or had offered his services to the government, I had as far as my *weak* influence extended, endeavored to arouse the people to a sense of the coming danger; and when Sumter had fallen, and loyal men were offering their services, but with no just appreciation of the magnitude of the contest upon which we were entering, I then lifted my feeble voice to warn them of the extent of the preparations, and of the resources and of the purposes of the conspirators; but my fears were supposed to have excited my imagination, and were esteemed as groundless. I desire now, to say to you the Rebellion is not yet at an end; and the great duty of loyalty in this hour is to prosecute this war to the very extent of all the resources of the government for the suppression of domestic insurrection.

4. Another of the many lessons of the hour, and the last one that time permits, arises from what are esteemed the dangers of the intervention of foreign powers.

At the commencement of the struggle, the most of us were

mistaken. I think it was the general supposition that the side of the Government, the side of justice, and the rightful authority would meet with, at least, a fair and impartial neutrality, founded upon sympathy from other nations; but we forgot that for once the side of authority was the side of Republicanism, the side of the people, and that the instincts of Monarchy would be against us—their sympathies went, as we might have known they would have gone, with the side to which the golden glorious words of the Declaration, “that all men are created free and equal,” were but “glittering generalities.” And yet we have but little to fear. We have watched for *intervention*, we have anticipated it, we have elaborated theories in reference to its results, and still it is in the future. *It is postponed*, from day to day, from one steamer to another. I may be mistaken—the future is so uncertain, the thread of the destiny of one people mingles itself so strangely, winds itself so mysteriously with that of the destiny of another.—*I may be mistaken*, but I have little fear of any intervention; the threat, the anticipation, has prolonged the struggle, it has multiplied the loss of precious lives, the sacrifices of the present to the future, but He who spake to the sea in tempest, *and there was a great calm*, who says to its waves, thus far shalt thou go and no further, He whom the wrath of man so often praises, the remainder shall He restrain. Even the so-called Confederacy now despairs of *English intervention*. It has been to the South an *ignis fatuus* that has lured onward, step by step; the mirage in the desert, that seemed *water* and now vanishes when the agony of thirst is intolerable. The conspirators turn from England to France. One usurpation turns in its despair to another, and Richmond hopes, and even exults in the hope, that France will be *compelled* to intervention for the sake of the little Napoleonic idea that has recently sprang up like a mushroom in Mexico. But do not the complications of European politics promise that the *Emperor* (?) will very soon have enough to do *nearer home*? while our success will dissolve the bubble of Empire on this American Continent like snow in sunlight. I believe of France, and especially of England, that they have been, and are still jealous of the growing power of the United States, that they would interfere or not interfere just as might seem necessary to secure disruption or disunion, but

our duty in either event is the same, to maintain the Union of these States. Six months of loyalty, animating every heart, bringing to every lip the old patriotic utterance of David: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth," would suffice to postpone intervention, until the idea in the light of the glorious future of union and strength and permanent peace and prosperity would seem like a madman's dream.

5. The only hope of peace, permanent peace and prosperity to this country, lies in the prosecution of this war, to the suppression of rebellion, to the maintenance of the national authority. The union of these States must be maintained. This should be the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. We should secure, beyond all possible doubt, for all future time, a united country. That which has threatened our disruption, must disappear from among us. Slavery, which has filled up the measure of its crimes, making of our nation a stumbling block, a hissing, and a by-word to the nations, introducing in our national councils discord, insolence, rapacity, murder; arming brother against brother; endeavoring to separate that which God hath united—these States. It must die. All the battle-fields, all the graves, all the widows and orphans, with breaking hearts, demand that out of the struggle, the nation shall come forth free—all free; a homogeneous people with homogeneity of interests.

Reforms that the hour has taught us, beyond all cavil, to be absolutely necessary, call for our serious, solemn consideration. Politics must be snatched from the foul grasp of men who make the material and social interests of a great and free people *a trade*. Good men—men who believe in God—in a divine overruling Providence—in the Providential destiny of this country to be the light, lightening the nations in their pathway upward to liberty—to the rule of an enlightened people, men whose path is in the light, must be the guides. Our children, girls as well as boys, must be taught the nature and value of government. A love for country, that many waters cannot quench, nor the floods drown, must be instilled into their hearts. We want, and must have, by schools, colleges,

churches, by any and all educators, the cultivation of an intense American sentiment. A sentiment of nationality.

Our lands are cheap and fertile; we have room for thousands of the Old World. We have social and political distinction for them if they are found worthy; but America, must not, cannot, will not submit to be Europeanized; the thousands who come, and are welcome, must be Americanized. No wider field, no better opportunity, for the poor and down-trodden of older lands, but American ideas for America. We proffer liberty, a larger liberty than any of the older Governments, offer to their children. But it is not liberty to destroy government, it is not licentiousness, but liberty controlled by law.

And *we*, too, native and to the manor born, must know no North, no South, no East, no West, nothing but our country. New England cannot be left out in the cold, the South cannot take her portion of goods and go into a far country to waste them in riotous living with the harlots of Monarchy. There is room enough and bread enough in the old house for all, and lovingly and cheerfully we must abide together. Let us fling away the trammels of party, that would hold us apart, and rising to the comprehension of our true interests, write on our banners, "*No party but our country.*"

From all the dangers of the hour that threaten her I turn to contemplate thee, O, dear country!

My country! how I love thee: dearer to me than ever before, now that thy glory has been dimmed—thy beauty shrouded. Thou shalt yet emerge from this sanguinary strife fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners. My country! O thou dear land of Liberty, with garments rolled in blood, travailing in the greatness of thy strength, thy worst enemies have been they of thine own household, thy *parricidal, ungrateful* children would have slain thee, the nations thought thee dead, and predicted that anarchy and then despotism would be the heirs of thy vast domain. But O! government of the free! thou wast not dead, thou didst but sleep, thou art awake now, may we not hope never to sleep again, for the sins that stupified thee, there is *sorrow*, not the sorrow that worketh death, but the repentance into life. To keep back the assassin's knife from

thy life, thy loyal, loving children fall. The nations mistook thy sleep for the death of trespasses and sins from which dead nations never wake—but there is life for thee, beautiful, sinning but repentant one! And to-day the grand vision of Milton rises into view,—“Methinks I see a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after a sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle, renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at full mid-day beam, purging and unsealing her long abraded sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; *while the whole flock of noisy, timorous birds, with those who love the twilight flutter about, amazed at what she means.*”

They will know soon what she means when the old flag waves in undisputed triumph, as wave it will, over every inch of the national domain.

We weep *now* the fallen, the children of to-day sigh and long for the dead fathers who will never return, but the generations to come will be as the descendants *now* of revolutionary sires. How *proud they are* as with erect forms and glistening eyes they tell of those who fell in that old struggle of '76, when a nation was born. The dear dead of '61 and '62 and '63, they died to redeem, to regenerate, to disenthral thee, my country.

Ah what an age is this in which we live. The air seems charmed around us. *The grand consummation* approaches.—From afar the down-trodden and oppressed watch for the stars in our banner! *They are still there!* above the clouds and storms of battle they shine serenely bright. The war goes on. God hastens its termination in the triumph of the democratic principle, in the elevation of all men to the freedom and equality for which He created them. We will have one Constitution and one *Liberty*, and that universal. The winds shall carry it from ocean to ocean across the continent, the mountains echo it in thunder tones. The land is vocal with it. One Nation, one Constitution one Flag! Hear it, England.—*One country and indivisible.* One people and inseparable, O, France! To Europe, *to the world* is borne on every passing breeze, the cry of *Unity* and of *Strength*. One God! one Hope! one Baptism! one Constitution! one Government! one Nation! one Country! one People! We will maintain our destiny in despite of all peril now and forever!

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